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CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Chester Bowles
Bessemer, Connecticut

Dear Chester:

It was good to receive your thoughtful letter of 16 May and its elaboration of your views on the subject of East-West relations, especially as they relate to the forthcoming Moscow Youth Festival.

I believe we are in agreement on basic principles, but the context in which such exchange takes place may be a crucial factor. If you are in Washington at some point in the near future, I would like to discuss further with you the Moscow Youth Festival matter. Meanwhile, I would add a word of caution regarding the United States Youth Festival Committee in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

RETIRED

O/DCI/ [] 10 Jun 57

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Mr. Chester Bowles
Essex,
Connecticut

Dear Chester

good
I was ~~delighted~~ to receive your thoughtful letter of 16 May and its elaboration of your views on the subject of East-West relations, especially as they relate to the forthcoming Moscow Youth Festival.

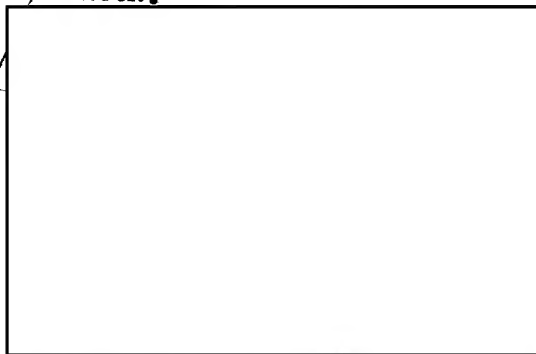
I believe we are in agreement on basic principles, though the context in which such exchange takes place is a crucial factor. We are undertaking activity in this field which would be of interest to you, although I am sure you understand that I cannot elaborate on these endeavors on this occasion. If you are in Washington at some point in the near future, I would be most happy to discuss this matter with you further. Meanwhile, I would add a word of caution regarding any relations with the United States Youth Festival Committee in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles
Director

cc: DDCI

CONCUR:



Deputy Director (Plans)

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, MAY

U.S. YOUTH GROUPS SPURN SOVIET BID

World Festivals Are Termed
Weapons Designed to Push
Russia's Partisan Goals

Two leading United States youth federations have turned down bids to the Soviet-sponsored sixth World Festival of Youth and Students. The festival will be held in Moscow July 28 to Aug. 11.

The United States National Student Association, representing 880,000 students in 300 colleges and universities, made public yesterday a letter branding the festivals "weapons designed by the Soviet Government to further its own partisan goals."

The Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly, speaking for seventeen of twenty-four affiliates, said acceptance of Soviet hospitality raised "an ethical question" for American youths who had disapproved Soviet intervention in Hungary. It spoke for the Young Women's Christian Association and the National Council of Catholic Youth, among others.

30,000 Foreigners Expected

In Moscow, the International Preparatory Committee for the festival has asserted that 30,000 foreigners, including at least ninety-six Americans, will attend, along with several hundred thousand Soviet youths. Last April 10, the State Department said the celebration's aim was to support "Moscow's foreign policies."

American participation has been promoted by a United States Youth Festival Committee in Chicago. Allen Janger, in charge of overseas publications for the student association, said yesterday an inquiry about the festival had been mailed recently to the Chicago headquarters of the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship.

On Feb. 8, 1956, the council was ordered by the Subversive Activities Control Board to register as a Communist front.

The reply to the inquiry came back, Mr. Janger said, not from the council but from the festival committee. The committee's stationery says:

"Purpose: It is not our purpose to encourage ideas which are contrary to our way of life or suggest by any means a change in our Constitution. The U. S. Y. F. C. is in no way connected with or will accept support from any Communist or left-wing group or individual."

The Moscow organization's newspaper, Festival, reported in its April 21-30 issue that student councils of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., and Oberlin College in Ohio and the president of the Young Republicans of the

consin wished to send representatives. All three, Mr. Janger said, had reported distortion and denied any such intent.

The student association's letter yesterday was addressed to the International Union of Students. It was signed by Harald C. Bakken, president, and Bruce D. Larkin, vice president for international affairs, students at the Universities of Minnesota and Chicago, respectively.

Past festivals, they said, promoted attacks on the United States and other countries. Sponsorship by Soviet bloc governments was "obvious," they added. They estimated the festival's cost at "tens of millions of dollars."

The association contended the festival was "not the type of event" to facilitate freedom of exchange with Eastern European students. Its letter promised to "seek long-term bilateral contacts and exchanges" instead.

The association, Mr. Janger said, has sought to negotiate such exchanges for twenty-eight United States schools in the past. The moves have been frustrated at the Soviet end.

The Young Adult Council reply went to the World Federa-

tion Democartic Youth. The council, too, said its affiliates would consider exchanges "to encourage free and frank discussion among youth of different countries."

Morocco's Delegation Small

RABAT, Morocco, May 24—Contrary to Communist hopes, there will be only a "symbolic representation" of Moroccan Youth movements at the Soviet festival.

More than 100 Moroccan young people have been invited to attend the events, but well-informed Moroccan sources said today that no more than twenty would go to Moscow.

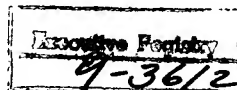
In an apparently determined effort to court independent Morocco, the Soviet Union sent invitations to the National Students Union, the Moroccan Workers Union and major political parties, among other groups.

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CHESTER BOWLES
ESSEX, CONNECTICUT



May 16, 1957

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Allen:

I just finished a week of lectures and discussions at Yale as this year's Chubb Fellow followed by a day at Smith College and at Amherst and I am again impressed with the impact a group of well chosen and well prepared young American students might have at the Youth Festival in Moscow this summer.

At all three universities a great many young people asked what I had learned about the Festival plans during my visit to the Soviet Union. A score or more expressed a desire to go "if it won't get me into trouble with our government." One impressive young student at Yale, who I believe is former president of the United States Association of Youth Organizations, was distressed because in his absence his group had voted to oppose any American student participation at the conference on the somewhat uncertain assumption that this was the wish of our government.

I am reminded of a similar situation in 1947 when we discouraged young people from attending the Prague Youth Festival. On that occasion the "American representation" was taken over by a group of young Communists and fellow travelers who created an "American exhibit" in which the most prominent offering was an effigy of a black man hanging and under it the inscription "In America we have lynched 174 Negroes since V-J day."

Later, Jan Masaryk told a young friend of mine, Harris Wofford, "If I were young again I would not be afraid of competing with the Communists. I would go in fighting - offering the world's youngsters the greater ideals of freedom. America could have taken this festival by storm if it had sent Rita Hayworth, a jazz band and the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. All you had here was a sorry little team of fellow travelers who made America look silly."

Wofford, who now works for Dean Acheson and who accompanied me on my recent trip, talked recently to some of our State Department people about this situation and met a most negative response. He felt that the response was based largely on fear of public opinion plus some rather twisted ideas of what makes for good and bad public relations in world affairs.

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Mr. Allen Dulles

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May 16, 1957

I discussed this question frankly with members of the Foreign Affairs Committee and Foreign Relations Committee in April and found them understanding of the opportunity that this sort of conference offers if we can produce able representatives - and in no way shocked at the thought. I have also tested public attitude here in Connecticut in the last three or four weeks by bringing up the subject in all kinds of groups. Invariably the response has been favorable.

My own judgment is that the Administration has nothing to fear from public opinion - except, of course, from the die hards who will oppose any creative move outside of the military arena.

Able young American girls and boys who know how to talk and who have had experience in group discussion can, I am sure, compete effectively with a similar Soviet group who are certain to be handicapped not only by musty, doctrinaire habits of thinking, but by their lack of access to the facts as they are known by most young people throughout the world. Our young people could make, I believe, a most worthwhile impression on the Russians. But their impact on the young people from other nations would be perhaps even more important.

I realize that there may still be reasons why you feel it is unwise to encourage our representation directly and openly. But I earnestly hope that this year we will not allow the situation to drift which means that we will be represented in Moscow by another "little group of fellow travelers." Many able, dedicated, young Americans will be in Europe anyway and there will be no difficulty in getting the best of them to take two weeks off for a visit to Moscow.

I understand there is a group in Chicago called the "United States Youth Festival Committee Group" with a Miss Barbara Perry as secretary, which is working on this project. I wonder if this group is reliable or if they are going to turn up again with the wrong kind of people - either ideologically wrong or hopelessly naive?

I am writing now simply because my ten days spent in three universities lead me to underscore the views which I expressed to you some time ago. There is no need for you to reply directly to this, of course.

Mr. Allen Dulles

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May 16, 1957

I have also received a confidential letter from Bob Kiphuth, Director of the Yale Athletic Association, and a prominent member of the Amateur Athletics Union of the United States.

Bob tells me that he will attend the meeting of the AAU Foreign Relations Committee and of the Executive Committee in June when the question of the Russian invitation for the trip by an American track team will be considered. He says that the track people will be favorable but that there will be objections from members of the Union's Executive and Foreign Relations Committees.

I believe it would be unfortunate if we turn down this kind of proposition. For one thing we will lose another opportunity to send some impressive young people to the Soviet Union where they will certainly make a favorable impression.

Second, we will miss an opportunity to invite the Russian track stars here where their eyes would be opened to what we have accomplished and where they would see on every side the living proof that they have been given a most distorted view of their principal "adversary" by their own government.

There is a negative factor which I think also should be considered. If our team fails to accept it will be charged throughout the world that we are afraid of getting another licking similar to the one we took in the Olympics. (When I was in Moscow in February the failure of America to send a team to the hockey matches was generally ascribed, not only among the Russians but among many of the diplomatic corps, to our fear of being defeated again.)

As a matter of fact, our appearance there would turn this situation to our benefit. Our track athletes would undoubtedly win without much difficulty and this would help wash out the impact of our loss in the Olympics.

I am writing to you in the hope that if you are in general agreement with my views you can find some means of reassuring some of these student group leaders and people like Bob Kiphuth and other members of the AAU. At present they feel that our government is antagonistic to such contacts. Because people are naturally timid on questions of which they have no special competence they tend to draw back.

Mr. Allen Dulles

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May 16, 1957


A year ago at Lafayette University Vice President Nixon made a remarkable speech on this subject. It would be a serious mistake for us now to desert the sound and imaginative position which he took at that time.

Instead of pulling back from personal contacts because of the Hungarian episode last fall, we should, I believe, be encouraged to move ahead confidently. The ferment in Eastern Europe might not have developed if it had not been for the decrease in tensions which followed Krushchev's speech at the 20th Congress and the easing of the Soviet Iron Curtain.

To develop an Iron Curtain psychology of our own and to frown directly or indirectly on cultural exchange would seem to me quite out of line with our own long range interests.

With my warmest regards.

Sincerely,


Chester Bowles

Mr. Allen W. Dulles
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington 25, D. C.
CB:t

Transcribed and signed
in Mr. Bowles' absence.